II: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

182 1.13 These, broadly, are the inter-relationship between physical features and economic aspects of the State, and largely determine the nature and structure of the Kerala economy discussed below.

Density of Population

161 [164] 1.14 In the ultimate analysis, the basic problem of Kerala, viz., an inordinately large section of the population being without any gainful work, is brought about by the very high density of population in the State. With an area only 1.2 per cent of the whole of India, Kerala has to support 3.8 per cent (16.8 million) of the total population of India. The density of population in Kerala (1,125 persons per sq. mile) is naturally over three times the all-India average (384 persons per sq. mile).

1.15 The population, however, is not evenly spread out over the whole of the State, but shows considerable variations from district to district (Table 2). The highland, being mostly covered with forests, is sparsely populated. The average density here is only about 150 persons per square mile. On the other hand, the lowlands bear the severest burden of population. With only about 18 per cent of the State area, they support over 40 per cent of the population. On the other extreme is the coastal strip where the average density is over 2,500 persons per square mile. In certain pockets it even shoots up to 7,000 persons per square mile. The midland, though thickly populated, is not as congested as the area lying in the immediate vicinity of the sea coast.

Growth of Population

1.16 Not only is the density of population high in Kerala, but its rate of growth has also been fairly high. The following table gives the rate of growth of population over the last half century both for India as well as for Kerala.

DECENNIAL PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN POPULATION

Year	India	Kerala
1901-11	5.69	1.75
1911-21	—0.31	9.16
1921-31	11.00	21.85
1931-41	14.23	16.04
1941-51	13.34	22.82
1951-61	21.49	24.55

Source: 1961 Census of Population Provisional Figures.

1.17 As can be seen, the population has grown much faster in Kerala than in the country as a whole during the last six decades. The basic reason for a faster rate of growth of population in Kerala is a comparatively low death rate while the birth rate is only slightly less than the all-India one. The comparative position of birth and death rates in India and Kerala is given in the following table.

● [165] [163]

* [see p. 270, category 116 -- Analysis]

[text continues on p. 8]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

163
165

COMPARATIVE POSITION OF BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

		Average birth rate per year per 1,000 persons	*Average death rate per year per 1,000 persons*
1941-51	All-India	41.3	24.9
	Kerala	38.2	19.9
1951-56	All-India	41	25
	Kerala	38	17

SOURCE: NCEAR calculations based on Census data and corrected birth and death registration data.

1.18 In fact comparative data for the different States shows that the death rate in Kerala is the lowest in the whole of India. The death rate is lowest in Kerala, presumably because of the generally high standard of hygiene of the people of this area. The erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin had long followed a progressive policy in the field of providing public amenities such as medical facilities, sanitation, etc. Since the standards of literacy as well as the average level of intelligence are fairly high in Kerala, with a more vigorous family planning programme it should be possible to bring down the birth rate within a shorter span of time than in many other parts of India.

[744]

Rural-Urban Breakdown

162 1.19 Only 13.5 per cent of Kerala's population lived in urban areas against 17.38 per cent of all-India, according to the Census of 1951. This difference seems to have narrowed down during the last decade, the proportion of urban population in Kerala having risen to 15.03 per cent by 1961, while it rose to only 17.84 per cent for the whole of India.[1]

36 1.20 The villages in Kerala are unique in size. According to the Census of 1951 as high as 13 per cent of villages had a population exceeding 5,000 persons against only 0.38 per cent of such villages in the whole of India. However, there are some redeeming features which prevent the countryside from presenting an appearance of over-congestion. The villages in Kerala are of a different type than is usual in the rest of India. The homesteads are generally not clustered together but are dotted almost all over the countryside. This spread out of population keeps living conditions healthy and clean in the rural areas.

STATE INCOME, OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY

434 1.21 The State income of Kerala in 1955-56 has been estimated at Rs. 351.6 crores[2] at the current prices (Table 3). This is roughly 3.4 per cent of the National Income of India (Rs. 9,900 crores) for the same year. For an area which is only

[1] It may be noted that this is only a broad conclusion as the definitions of urban areas in Census of 1951 and of 1961 are not identical.

[2] See Appendix 2 for details.

*595
601

AIYAPPAN †

NARAYAN † ?[1]

PARAGNODEN
informant[2]

KRISHNA
m. to
Janeki
of Odevan-
gatil t.[3]

Paru
m. to
ARMUGHAN
of Kanga-
lata t.

RAMAN	Devaki	Madevi	NARAYAN
22	20	12	10

of
atot-

all of them unmarried

)OY
irl

[1] Emigrated to Singapore, fate unknown, presumed dead.
[2] Now eighty years old
[3] 2° m. (at 43, now 55, after 15 years of first marriage) to:
Tina
of Peralli t.

KESEVAN	Lakshmi
11	9

[4] 2° m. (at 22, now 45, after 4 years of first marriage) to:
Vali, his fathers' sister's daughter (see Part 2).
[5] His fathers' sister's daughter (see Part 2).
[6] At Manjara. Now divorced; the children are with the mother because they are still very small.
[7] Velu died of "fever"; Krishna of a "stomach ache"; Kali fell into a well; Devaki died of dysentry.

[586]
[165]

[facing P. 192-C]

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Kammalans

construction made of woven palm leaves and thatched, and we interviewed two men: Raman, aged fifty seven, and his eldest son, Kutikrishnan, who was thirty five. The name of the household and *tarawad* was Perinkulam. 595* [342] [614]

Kutikrishnan told us that he had two fathers, Raman, who was with us that day, and Shangu, a younger one, aged fifty five, who was absent. All his fathers' sisters, and there had been three of them, had died in infancy. His mother was called Lakshmi and was fifty; I was unable to ascertain the name of the *tarawad* from which she came. Kutikrishnan's wife bore the same name as his mother and he had had three boys and a girl by her. Only the daughter was alive, as the sons had all died of what he described as "convulsions". 595* 601 [65]

I asked why, if the fathers had been polyandrous, the second generation was not so too. Informant 1 attributed it to times having changed and "civilization spreading". By this he meant that people did not wear their hair tied in the typical Kerala top-knot on one side of the forehead any longer and had also taken to growing moustaches; he said, too, that it was the women now who objected to having more than one husband. In some marriage agreements, it was specified, he said, that the daughter of the house would only be given to one man. It was particularly in wealthy families that this was taking place, because they could afford it. Raman, informant 2, when consulted as to what he thought of these new ways, said that they were bad, but what could be done about them? In olden days, it was always said that polyandry was good because: "Where four breasts cannot agree, two heads can", meaning that the women cannot live in peace together while the men can. Nowadays, the young people did not seem to understand this, and the result was that property was split up between sons and life made harder for them. 595* 178 [302] [675]

When I came to make out the genealogy of the family, I found that in spite of all this talk about new-fangled ways, Amini, Kutikrishnan's sister was married polyandrously to three brothers of a *tarawad* called Warode. It was significant, however, that both informants disclaimed any knowledge of the names of the brothers of the elder husband, Narayan. Later, I heard that although Madhavan, a younger brother of informant 1, aged eighteeen, had not been publicly married to his sister-in-law, Lakshmi, he was known to share her with his brother in the old, traditional polyandrous way. The genealogy is given in Table 13. 595* 601

The carpenter sub-caste of the Kammalans, Raman told us, have exogamous *tarawads* and *kiriyams*. They too, while observing the rule strictly for the *makkathayam tarawad*, are not so careful about it in the 564 619 582

[Text Continues on P. 201]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

There are 440 houses in the "town," and more than double that number in the whole village. The statistics of births and deaths are kept separate for the part of the village outside the town and the town; they stand thus for the last five years:—

Years.	Village.									Town.								
	Births.				Deaths.					Births.				Deaths.				
	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Christians.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Christians.	Total.	Infants.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Christians.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Christians.	Total.	Infants.
1910-11	93	10	23	126	60	8	5	73	33	86	17	23	126	54	21	5	80	39
1911-12	75	6	29	110	71	6	24	101	38	86	34	23	143	83	17	19	119	57
1912-13	40	7	7	54	33	4	6	43	17	72	24	17	113	66	13	18	97	48
1913-14	50	5	6	61	43	2	5	50	17	66	22	23	111	64	8	24	96	37
1914-15	35	3	4	42	20	...	6	26	6	49	27	17	93	29	6	12	47	15

"Infants" include all under the age of three.

The figures for the "town" can be taken as fairly accurate while those of the village cannot be relied on; for the village officers rarely take the trouble of entering the latter correctly, while every dweller in "town" is made to tender accounts of births and deaths on penalty, and these are also within the close purview of the village officers. Note especially the rate of infant mortality in both the town and village. Nearly 50 per cent of the deaths occur among the infants.* Muhammadans and Christians, who are invariably engaged in petty trade, are more numerous in the "town" than in the "village."

Paracheri.—The Pulayas (Cherumas and Paraiyas) in the State and of Malabar form a category by themselves. The State made an enquiry into their social and economic condition last year which I here utilize. There are nearly 300 Pulayas in the village. They are more or less serfs attached to the soil. They are agricultural workers only, and have no sort of proprietorship in the land. They are paid daily wages in kind and that in very low measures. The following is the daily rate:—Men 2 edangalis † of paddy per day; women 1½ edangalis of paddy, boys 1 edangali. In addition, 5 edangalis of paddy are given to men and 4 edangalis to women on certain festive days in the year, and once a year every male and female member of the family is presented with a pair of cloths ‡; 2 yards and 3½ yards respectively by the master. The men plough, tend cattle, water the gardens, gather fuel, etc., while the women pluck the paddy seedlings to replant them, and do

* [The figures show an average infantile death-rate of 284 per 1,000 births for the area outside the "town," and of 336 for the "town"—Ed.]

† 10 Cochin edangalis = 1 para = 8 Madras measures. [Therefore 1 edangali of paddy weighs 2 lb.—Ed.].

‡ These cloths are nearly one yard wide.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Kerala AW11

423 his neighbour seeing the improvements resorts to bribery in order to get the land.

242 Further this system results in the disregard of agricultural principles. Supposing only ten coconut palms should be planted in a certain portion of land, the possessor actually plants fifteen or sixteen because at the end of twelve years he will get the value of fifteen or sixteen trees according to the Tenants Improvements Act. If he is content with planting only ten according to agricultural principles, he gets only the value of ten. For many years past there has been no attempt towards scientific cultivation, as a consequence of this, in the whole of Malabar. It is impossible to do so. Disregard of science means gain; regard for it means loss. There is an evident deterioration in the production of the land in Malabar due to absence of security, and disregard of science. Lands which brought a gain of Rs. 1,000 do not now bring even Rs. 400 or Rs. 500. An improvement in this system of land tenure by means of legislation would evidently increase the fertility of Malabar.

Population.—Total population 7,596.*

162 Castes and individuals in each caste—

Name of caste.	Families.	Members.
Nambudri or Malabar Brahmans	36	146
East Coast Brahmans or Brahmans who have emigrated to Malabar from the east ...	107	653
Nayars and their sub-sects	382	1,305
Tiyyas and their sub-sects	437	2,461
Muhammadans	331	2,307
Christians	118	592
Artisan castes, etc.	17	117
Total ...	1,428	7,581

163 Number of children under ten in families—Living 3,490, dead 928.

165 Number of homesteads—1,290.

	1915.	
	Births.	Deaths.
Boys	178	76
Girls	158	80
Total ...	336*	156*

165 The following table of deaths may be useful:—

Children between ages	0—10	87*
Between ages	10—20	2
,,	21—25	8
,,	26—30	8
,,	31—35	6
,,	36—40	4

Birth-rate ... ... 44·2 per thousand
Death-rate ... ... 20·5 ,,
Death-rate for children 0—10 ... 259 per thousand births.
Density of population ... ... 3,231 per square mile.—Ed.]

Between ages	41—50	11
"	51—60	9
"	61—70	9
"	71—80	10
84 years of age		1
92 "		1
		156

It is to be noted that infant deaths are more than half the total deaths and number 87 out of 156 last year.

This information is not fully accurate because the people do not report births and deaths generally to the village officials and consequently they have to ascertain the facts by inquiring and it is possible that some births or deaths escape their notice. The ignorance of the people and the unnecessary fear of post-mortem examination in the case of deaths explain their silence. Probably a considerable number of infant deaths escape report.

Paracheri.—Three families, 15 members.—7 women, 8 men.

Number of dead for the last ten years—

Family No. 1	7
" " 2	5
" " 3	4

The village land—

	ACS.
Garden lands	792½
Wet lands	360¾
Dry "	135⅜
Government lands	14½
Inam lands	201¾
Total	1,504 17/24

There are no waste lands.

The principal fruit trees are mangoes, jacks, plantains, and there are not many though sufficient for the village consumption.

There are tanks and wells in plenty. Drinking water is got from wells; and the tanks are used for bathing and for agricultural purposes.

Occupation of land and Agriculture.—The number of kanomdars in the village is 385. The large kanomdars do not generally cultivate the land themselves.

The land is divided into small strips, each strip containing from 50 to 1,000 coconut palms. The large kanomdar takes his residence on one of these strips, and he himself cultivates the particular strip where he is, and gives to small tenants the remaining strips belonging to him. Consequently only about 180 acres of the whole village are cultivated by the large kanomdars. In addition to these lands three kanomdars cultivate all of their land. Two are Muhammadans and one a Tiyya. The area belonging to these three kanomdars is about 134 acres. The remaining land, 1,200 odd acres, is given to tenants to cultivate. There are also between 200 and 300 small kanomdars belonging to the agricultural classes, who hold land insufficient for their maintenance and also cultivate the lands of big kanomdars. A number of the big

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

The statistics of births and deaths of this desam are obtainable only for the year 1915. They are given below :—

Births.

Males	 50	Hindu	... ...	84
Females	 43	Muhammadan	...	9
	93			93

Deaths.

According to age—

Lifeless deliveries	7
Below one year	9
Between 1 and 10	13
„ 10 and 20	1
„ 20 and 30	7
„ 30 and 40	3
„ 40 and 50	...
„ 50 and 60	3
„ 60 and 80	5
	48

According to sex and castes—

Males	24	Hindus	43
Females	24	Muhammadans ...	5

There is no paracheri in the strict sense of the term. The depressed classes, mostly Cherumas, are still in a state of semi-serfdom, depending for everything on their landlords and masters.

Land.—The area of the desam by settlement is 1,803·40 acres. This desam together with Mattupalli, Peringode, Pillakkattiri, Tolukad, Mathur, Alikara, Kuttanad, Perumannur and Chalisseri desams formed the old revenue amsam of Kothachira. Now Kothachira revenue amsam includes only Kothachira, Mathur and Peringode desams.

The areas under each description of land—

——	Wet.	Garden.	Occupied dry.	Unoccupied dry.	Unassessed.	Inam.	Poramboke.	Total.
	ACS. C.	ACS. C.	ACS. C.	ACS. C.	ACS. C.			ACS. C.
Private Jenmi.	445 27	209 43	197 16	935 71	..	...	...	1,787 57
Government Jenmi.	...	..	...	...	...	..	..	...
Unregistered lands.	...	..		...	15 83	...	...	15 83
	445 27	209 43	197 16	935 71	15 83	..	...	1,803 40

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

so long as they live, they have to keep their body and soul together. Thus year by year, the rich become richer and the poor poorer. The process is continuing at a fast rate and the people do not realize it. They are too ignorant and attribute everything to their fate and God's will. To add to these evils, in some years crops fail and there will be utter starvation. Thus the causes of indebtedness are— 511 426

(1) High rent.
(2) Population beyond means of subsistence.
(3) Lands limited in area.
(4) Absolute dependence on land of the population.

There is no instance of debtors who have entirely liberated themselves from debt in this desam. There is no co-operative society.

Sanitation.—In regard to sanitation, thanks to the peculiar customs of Malabar, the evils arising from the rigour of social rules are absent. Infant marriage and purdah are both absent. There is no problem of the disposal of night-soil here, for there are large unoccupied areas whither the people resort, while the women have latrines far out in their back compounds. As for insanitary habits, they are not addicted to any similar to what are found elsewhere. All bathe once a day in tanks or streams. There is neither much smoking or snuffing, but there is chewing (betel and tobacco and lime and arecanut all together) among all people, but not to such an extent as among people in Madras, etc. Drinking is a real evil among the Cherumas, but this is chiefly due to lack of proper food of other sorts. Several of them when asked why they drink have given the same unanimous answer, that "while stomach calls, one must respond, else not hear at all." The latter is of course the cheaper course. 364 [514] [515] 276 273

Good and clear water for drinking is easily got from private wells.

But with all these, the figure for the year of deaths from diseases and infant mortality is not encouraging. 165

The list contains the account of only one year that of 1915-16. But it still speaks for itself.

Kothachira.

Ages of dead.	Number according to age.	Fever.	Dysentery.	Tuberculosis.	Diarrhœa.	Dyspepsia.	Hysteria.	Karappani (skin blotched).	Other causes.
Lifeless birth	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Below 1	9	...	3	...	...	...	4	2	...
Between 1 and 10 ...	13	4	3	1	...	...	4	1	...
„ 10 „ 20 ...	1	1	...	.	...	...	...	...	...
„ 20 „ 30 ...	7	3	...	1	1	...	...	...	2
„ 30 „ 40 ...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 40 „ 50 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 50 „ 60 ...	3	.	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
„ 60 „ 80 ...	5	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	2
Total ...	48	11	8	4	3	...	8	3	4

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

165

Peringode.

Ages of dead	Number according to age.	Fever.	Swelling.	Tuberculosis.	Diarrhœa.	Dyspepsia.	Hysteria.	Skin blotches.	Other causes.
Lifeless birth	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Below 1	9	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Between 1 and 10 ...	5	...	1	...	4	...	3	1	...
,, 10 ,, 20 ...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...
,, 20 ,, 30 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, 30 ,, 40 ...	4	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
,, 40 ,, 50 ...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
,, 50 ,, 60 ...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
,, 60 ,, 80 ...	5	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	4
Total ...	30	...	3	4	6	3	4	1	5

Mathur.

Ages of dead.	Number of dead according to ages.	Dysentery.	Diarrhœa.	Hysteria.	Tuberculosis.	Rheumatism.
Below 1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Between 30 and 40 ...	1	...	...	...	1	...
,, 50 ,, 60	3	1	1	...	...	1
,, 60 ,, above	5	...	5	...	...	...
Total ...	11	1	7	1	1	1

871 *Education.*—There is one elementary school in the amsam, but it is situated in Peringode desam. It is maintained by a wealthy jenmi of Peringode, who is not an enlightened man. It was started two years ago. It has a good building and sufficient accommodation for the children now on the roll. There were a large number at the commencement of the school when there were enthusiastic teachers who knew the value of education. But they were dispensed with as they soon got into the bad books of the jenmi by their independent attitude. Since then there has been a regular decline in attendance. The maximum limit reached was 210. But now the number on the roll is 103—84 boys and 19 girls. The school is now under weak hands and highly mismanaged. The masters are not efficient and their methods of teaching antiquated. They are themselves people whose knowledge is highly limited. Reading and writing the vernacular, simple rules of arithmetic, and geography are taught.

212 191 Five per cent of the adults are able to read the vernacular; four per cent to write it. There are only two people able to read, write and speak English, two brothers.

perform priestly functions for the lowest classes. There are also in the village a few families of Ambalavasis (about 35 persons) who rank above the Nayars and perform menial and other functions in temples, and also practise Ayurvedic medicine. 162

Births and deaths.—The village register gives the following statistics of births and deaths for the year 1915 (as far as I could ascertain, a normal year). 163

Births.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindus	37	41	78
Muhammadans	2	1	3
	39	42	81

Deaths. 165

Below 1 year	8	2	10
Between 1 and 5	1	4	5
„ 5 and 10	4	1	5
„ 15 and 20	2	1	3
„ 30 and 40	2	2	4
„ 40 and 50	3	...	3
„ 50 and 60	2	2	4
Above 60	3	4	7
	25	16	41

Causes—

	Males.	Females.	
Fever	7	6	Causes are not accurate.
Dysentery and diarrhoea ...	11	6	
Respiratory diseases ...	6	4	
Injuries	1	...	
	25	16	

The figures seem to be fairly accurate, though not quite so. The death rate seems to be too low compared to the birth rate. But the figures are admittedly incomplete as is seen from the remarks made upon the register by the supervising authority. The deficiency is probably in the record of *deaths of young children*.

The causes of this defect are (1) registration not being compulsory; (2) indifference or ignorance of village authorities and of villagers who hardly seem to realize the importance of registration; (3) the villagers' suspicion of registration; they do not know its object.

There is no Paracheri strictly so called as in villages of eastern districts. There are scattered dwellings of depressed classes, Cherumas and Pariahs. There are five families of Pariahs, consisting of 13 men, 13 women and 16 children. Of the men two have gone for work to the Kolar Gold Fields and one to Wynaad. The proportion of children to adults is much smaller among the Cherumas and Pariahs than among the Brahmans and Nayars. 621 [167]